

## Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-02

INFO OCT-01 EUR-02 ISO-00 NEA-02 /007 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:IO/ML:PWKRIEBEL

APPROVED BY:EUR/RPM:HAHOLMES

NEA/INS:ATHIBAULT(BY PHONE)

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R 110106Z SEP 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 224884

FOLLOWING REPEAT COLOMBO 3237 ACTION SECSTATE INFO NAC  
COLLECTIVE AUG 26.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L COLOMBO 3237

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PORG

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: NAM SUMMIT: TRENDS IN  
NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

1. SUMMARY. IN LOOKING BACK ON FIFTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT,  
WE BELIEVE WE CAN DETECT FOUR FUTURE TRENDS IN THE NAM.  
THEY ARE TRENDS TOWARD: MODERATION; UNIVERSALITY; EFFORTS  
TO ALIGN WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES; AND, A CHANGE IN  
EMPHASIS FROM POLITICAL TO ECONOMIC MATTERS. END SUMMARY.

2. WITH THE FIFTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT OVER, WE CAN LOOK  
BACK TO SEE IF CLUES REGARDING THE GENERAL DIRECTION  
IN WHICH THE NON-ALIGNED MAY BE MOVING HAVE COME OUT  
OF IT. THE TREND UNTIL THE CONFERENCE BEGAN SEEMED TO  
BE IN THE DIRECTION OF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE WEST AND  
THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES BOTH ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC  
ISSUES. THE 1973 ALGIERS SUMMIT DEMONSTRATED THE DEGREE  
TO WHICH THE RADICALS WERE ABLE TO CONTROL THE MOVEMENT.  
THIS WAS REINFORCED DURING THE 1975 NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN  
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MINISTERS MEETING IN LIMA. THE LANGUAGE WAS HARSH AND

NEW MEMBERS OFTEN WERE EXTREME COMMUNIST REGIMES SUCH AS NORTH KOREA AND VIETNAM WHO, TO US AT LEAST, APPEAR TO BE ANYTHING BUT NON-ALIGNED.

3. MOVE TOWARDS MODERATION: DURING THE COLOMBO SUMMIT, HOWEVER, THE NON-ALIGNED SEEMED TO MOVE AWAY FROM CONFRONTATION. THE SEEDS FOR THIS SHIFT HAD PROBABLY BEEN SOWN EARLIER. FIRST, THE MODERATES IN THE MOVEMENT, AND THEY SEEM TO HAVE A DEFINITE MAJORITY EVEN IF THEY ARE OFTEN SILENT, WERE RESENTFUL OF THE HIGH-HANDED, STEAM-ROLLER TACTICS EMPLOYED BY THE MORE EXTREME ELEMENTS, PARTICULARLY ALGERIA'S HANDLING OF THE 1973 SUMMIT. BY THE TIME COLOMBO CAME AROUND, THEY HAD MADE UP THEIR MINDS TO SPEAK UP AND DEFEND THEIR MORE MODERATE POSITIONS ON CERTAIN ISSUES, EVEN TO THE POINT OF EXPRESING PUBLICLY THEIR RESERVATIONS. THEY HAD NOT DONE THIS BEFORE. SECONDLY, SOME OF THE OLD BURNING ISSUES WHICH UNITED THE NON-ALIGNED AGAINST THE U.S. AND THE WEST WERE NO LONGER AROUND, E.G. VIETNAM AND PORTUGAL COLONIALISM. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, THE PROGRESSION OF ATTITUDES FROM THE VI UNGA SPECIAL SESSION TO VII UNGA SPECIAL SESSION, FROM CONFRONTATION TO EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES REPRESENTED BY THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE FURTHER DEMONSTRATES THIS TREND.

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4. UNIVERSALITY: THE COLOMBO SUMMIT CONTINUED THE TREND TOWARD UNIVERSALITY BY ADMITTING THREE NEWLY-INDEPENDENT, FORMER COLONIAL STATES, ANGOLA, COMOROS, AND SEYCHELLES. IT ALSO ALLOWED A FOOT IN THE DOOR THROUGH GUEST STATUS FOR THREE OBVIOUSLY ALIGNED BUT NOT-SURE-THEY-LIKE-IT STATES, THE PHILIPPINES, ROMANIA AND PORTUGAL. WHETHER THIS DECISION WILL STAND THE TEST OF TIME IS QUESTIONABLE. THIS TREND TOWARD ABSORBING EVERYONE (EXCEPT THE U.S. AND THE USSR) TENDS, HOWEVER, TO DILUTE THE COHESIVENESS OF THE GROUP AND SEEMS LIKELY TO PROMOTE FURTHER INTERNAL POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SQUABBLES WITHIN THE MOVEMENT. AN EXAMPLE IS THE MALAYSIA-VIETNAM CONFRONTATION AT THE SUMMIT. ANOTHER WAS THE ENDLESS

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ARGUMENTS AS TO HOW MANY MEMBERS SHOULD BE ON THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE AND WHAT THE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION SHOULD BE. THIS TREND IS ALSO LIKELY TO MAKE THE CAUCUSES OF THE REGIONAL SUB-GROUPS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN THAT THE NAM IS BECOMING UNWIELDY BECAUSE OF SHEER WEIGHT OF NUMBERS.

TGC TOWARDS ALIGNMENT WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

ANOTHER TREND WHICH SURFACED AT THE COLOMBO MEETING WAS THE EFFBET BY THOSE CLOSELY ALIGNED WITH THE "SOCIAL PT COUNTRIES" (AS THE NON-ALIGNED CALL THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES) E.G. ANGOLA, CUBA, IRAQ, MOZAMBIQUE, NORTH KOREA, TO TURN THE MOVEMENT INTO AN "ANTI-IMPERIALIST" BLOC. THIS TREND SEEMS TO DIRECTLY CONFLICT WITH THE TREND TO MODERATION. STRENUEOUS EFFORTS WERE MADE BY SEVERAL COUNTRIES IN THIS DIRECTION APPARENTLY URGED ON BY THE SOVIETS. THIS, HOWEVER, AROUSED CONSIDERABLE SUSPICION AMONG THE MODERATES AND SEEMS TO HAVE STRENGTHENED THEIR DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN EQUIDISTANCE BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS, AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT. THE COMMUNISTS' AND THE EXTREME ELEMENTS' ABILITY TO INSINUATE THEMSELVES INTO THE ADMINISTRATIVE MECHANISM OF THE NAM IS DISQUIETING, HOWEVER. WITH THE ADDITION OF SEVEAL HIGHLY RADICAL MEMBERS TO THE NACC, E.G. VIETNAM, THE PLO, ANGOLA, ETC., AND THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE NEXT TWO SUMMITS WILL BE IN CUBA AND THEN IRAQ, GIVES US REASON TO SUSPECT THAT THE EXTREME ELEMENTS COULD BE SUCCESSFUL, OVER TIME, IN USING THE NAM FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES.

6. TOWARDS EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES: FINALLY, THE EFFORTS BY SOME, PARTICULARLY SRI LANKA AND INDONISIA, TO SHIFT THE FOCUS FROM POLITICAL TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AT THE COLOMBO SUMMIT SEEMS NOT TO HAVE MADE MUCH HEADWAY. PERHAPS THIS WAS BECAUSE THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED ON ECONOMIC MATTERS. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD, HOWEVER, THAT A GULF BETWEEN THE OPEC NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS AND THE NON-OIL PRODUCERS WAS APPARENT AT THE COLOMBO SUMMIT. IT SEEMS LIKELY THIS TREND TOWARD DIVERGENT INTERESTS BETWEEN THE RICH

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AND THE POOR WITHIN THE NAM WILL BECOME MORE EVIDENT IN THE FUTURE. STILL THE POLITICAL AREA IS WHERE THE "ACTION" IS. THE TREND, IF THERE IS ONE, TOWARDS EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC MATTERS IS LIKELY TO BE VERY SLOW, AND SEEMS LIKELY TO BE PURSUED MORE OFTEN IN CONFERENCES OTHER THAN NON-ALIGNED. REED UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NONALIGNED NATIONS MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 11 SEP 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ShawDG  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE224884  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** IO/ML:PWKRIBEL  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Line Count:** 161  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN IO  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ShawDG  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 05 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <05 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <10 AUG 2004 by ShawDG>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: NAM SUMMIT: TRENDS IN NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PORG, CE  
**To:** NATO BRUSSELS  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006